Trade Competition and American Decolonization

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Motivations

Philippine independence in comparative perspective

- 1. The role of sugar. Why? How?
- 2. The "inevitability" of decolonization
- 3. Decolonization in a time of empire

 $\mathsf{Early}\ \mathsf{colonialism}\ \Rightarrow\ \mathsf{Extraction}\ \mathsf{and}\ \mathsf{market}\ \mathsf{capture}$

Early colonialism \Rightarrow Extraction and market capture

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Late colonialism \Rightarrow
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 $Imperial\ expansion\ +\ technological\ change\ +\ agr.\ development$

= competition between metropoles and colonies

 $Politics \Rightarrow supporters \ versus \ opponents \ of \ decolonization$

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- 2. Easy substitution for domestic products

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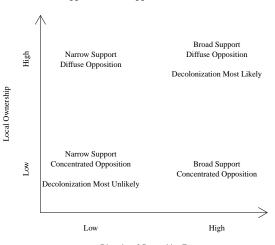
- 1. Diverse colonial exports
- 2. Easy substitution for domestic products

More opposition to decolonization if

- 1. Colonial producers are "represented" in the metropole
- 2. Colonial producers overcome collective action problems

Expectations

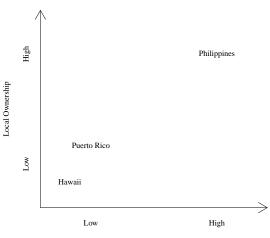
Support for and Opposition to Decolonization



Diversity of Competitive Exports

Cases





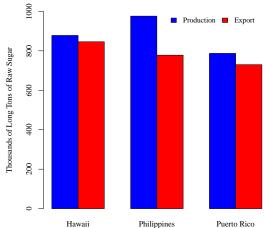
Diversity of Competitive Exports

Comparing the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico

	Philippines	Hawaii	Puerto Rico	
Sugar Exports	High	High	High	
Ethnic-Racial Core	"Asiatic"	"Asiatic"	"Latin"	
Dominant Religion	Catholicism	"Indigenous"	Catholicism	
Time as U.S. Terr.	Since 1898	Since 1898 ()	Since 1898	
Strategic Importance	High	High	High	
Independence demand	High	High	High	
U.S. Share of Sugar	с. 10%	100%	68%	
Industrial conc.	Dispersed	"Big Five"	Four Firms	
Other exports	Coconuts	None	None	

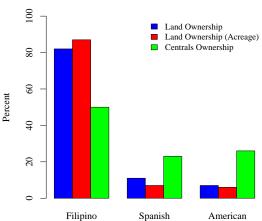
Sugar Production



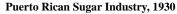


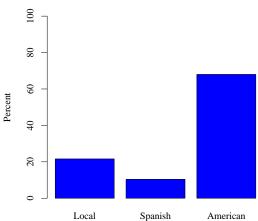
Ownership





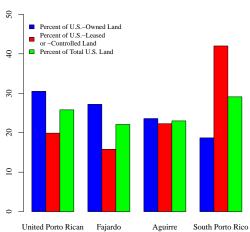
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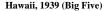


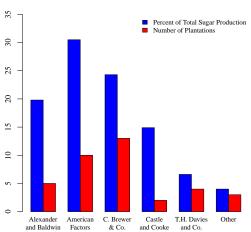
Concentration





Concentration





Collective Action and Political Power

Puerto Rico: Access in Washington and control in San Juan

By the depression, absentee corporations controlled the bulk of sugar production along with the most important supportive economic activities such as banking, transportation, communications, public utilities, and most important of all government.

- Bergad 1978: 81

Not only were the various U.S. appointed governors concerned with protecting U.S. interests, which meant sugar, but sugar permeated the islands political life. The political parties which received financial donations from sugar and its associated interests could survive; the rest could not. The insular legislature came to be composed quite largely of Puerto Rican sugar lawyers who were understandably loath to disturb the islands principal industry and their own sources of income

-Hanson 1955: 31

Collective Action and Political Power

Hawaii: the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association

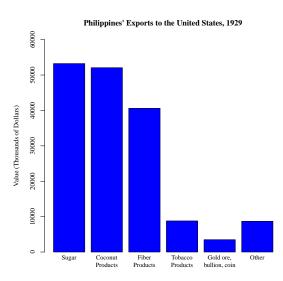
The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association provides a convenient medium for unifying and implementing the policies of the factors. It is governed by five trustees, each representing one of the five factorsthey also appoint the other administrative officers. The Association is financed by the planation members on the basis of the sugar tonnage each produces.All [sugar] is marketed under an agreement whereby all sugar producers in the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association use the same marketing organization and receive the same price per ton. Thus the integration of the Hawaiian sugar industry has been carried to its ultimate step in the refining and marketing of the product to the mainland

- Shoemaker 1940: 29, 31

Control over the basic economic institutions of Hawaiian society reaffirmed the elite's political position. Political and economic hegemony within Hawaii provided the Island oligarchy with a base from which to deal with elites in Washington, New York, and San Francisco

- Kent 1993: 78

Exports



Voting for Philippine Independence

Narrative evidence of support for Philippine independence from

- 1. Sugar beets
- 2. Other U.S. sugar cane
- 3. Cotton
- 4. Dairy
- 5. Agriculture in general

NB: of course, also unions, racists, progressives too

Further empirics: mixed-effect probit regression of Senate votes for Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act of 1933 as function of partisanship, agricultural profiles, Filipino population, state-level effects

Agriculture by State

Sugar Beets (10,000s of acres harvested)



Sugar Cane (1,000s of acres harvested)



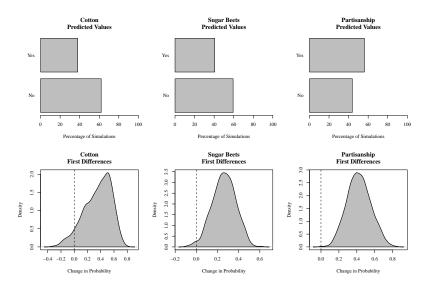
Cottonseed (100,000s of tons produced)



Milk (100,000,000s of pounds produced)



Main Results



Models and simulations via Zelig (Imai, King, Lau)



Conclusions and Implications

1. Not trade itself, but organization and structure

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- 2. Variation across colonial powers?
 - Corn Laws and grain exports from the Little Europes?
 - What did Belgium and Portugal make?
- 3. Disciplinary and subdisciplinary divides
 - Milner 1998
 - area studies vs. ethnic studies vs. polisci

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Extras: Regression Results

	Model 1			ľ	Model 2		
	Coef	S.E.	Ζ	Coef	S.E.	Z	
Fixed Effects							
(Intercept)	0.65	1.27	0.51	0.46	1.04	0.44	
Democrat	2.29	0.66	3.49				
Cotton	0.21	0.14	1.49	0.33	0.09	3.52	
Sugarbeets	0.34	0.14	2.36	0.22	0.11	1.94	
Milk	-0.19	0.18	-1.06	-0.09	0.15	-0.64	
Pct. Filipino	-0.01	0.13	-0.07	0.03	0.10	0.31	
Random Effects							
State	0.16	0.40		0.03	0.18		
Observations		94			94		
Groups		48			48		

Each model is estimated via mixed effects probit regression (Bailey and Alimadhi 2007). Cotton, Sugarbeets, Milk, and Pct. Filipino are expressed in logs.

Extras: The E Word

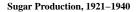
Pepinsky:

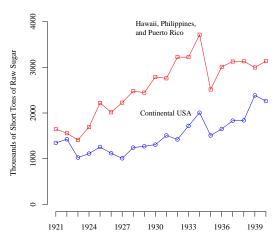
 ${\sf Ownership} \to {\sf lobbying} \to {\sf independence}$

Joint Determination:

$$\begin{tabular}{ll} Likelihood of independence \rightarrow lobbying \rightarrow independence \\ \hline \searrow & \nearrow \\ ownership \end{tabular}$$

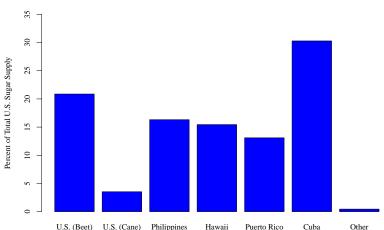
Extras: Origins of U.S. Sugar (1)





Extras: Origins of U.S. Sugar (2)





Extras: Concentration Illustrated

